

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 082772

P R 161734 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8475

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 325

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALTO TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3136

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM MBFR DEL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: HIGHLIGHTS APRIL 7-13.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THIS PERIOD, THE INFORMAL QUADRILATERAL PROBE ON THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION PROBLEM GENERATED A SOVIET PROPOSAL WHICH PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR AN EMISSARIES# REPORT RETURNING THE QUESTION TO THE NAC FOR CONSIDERATION. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT EMERGED IN A LONG INFORMAL MEETING ON 7 APRIL BETWEEN THE SOVIET, US, AND DUTCH REPS WAS LATER APPARENTLY APPROVED IN MOSCOW AND PRESENTED IN THE QUADRILATERAL FRAME-
WORK ON 13 APRIL. THE PROPOSAL FOR A PROCEDURES PAPER INCORPORATED THREE ESSENTIAL FEATURES ON PARTICIPATION: (A)

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THE LISTING OF HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT; (B) A CONSENSUAL
ENLARGEMENT FORMULA DESIGNED TO PERMIT INCLUSION OF OTHER STATES
AMONG THE DELIBERATIVE PARTICIPANTS AT SOME FUTURE POINT;
(C) DRAFT UNILATERAL STATEMENTS BY WEST AND EAST WHICH DO NOT
MENTION ITALY SPECIFICALLY AND HAVE THE EFFECT OF RESERVING THE
WEST'S RIGHT TO RAISE THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION DURING THE
NEGOTIATIONS. MOST MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP AGREED WITH THE
; 7-15

CANADA 5,000 TONS FLOUR (BAGGED N/ A
PORT OF ABIDJAN

GERMANY 3,300 TONS FLOUR(BAGGED) MAY- JUNE

FED 3,311 TONS FLOUR 5-7;6-8;7-6;

CHINA 35,000 TONS RICE 5-11 AND 6-1

WFP 10,000 TONS SORGHUM 5000 TONS IN APRIL
5000 TONS IN MAY

FED 31,689 TONS PORT N/ A

2. NEW TOTAL PURV JFED OR GIVEN TO MALI IS 152,300 TONS WITH ABOVE
2,000 TONS FROM FRANCE, INSTEAD OF PREVIOUSLY QUOTED FIGURE OF
154,000

MT.

3. NOW APPEARS BREAKDOWN BETWEEN DAKAR AND ABIDJAN, BASED ON
EDUCATED

GUESSES, 49,000 TONS DAKAR, 51,611 TONS ABIDJAN AND 31,689 TONS AS
YET UNDETERMINED BY FED DONOR.

4. RE STATE 065069, GOM WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF WASHINGTON COULD, AS
QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, GIVE BEST INFORMATION RE SHIPS TO BE USED AND
ARRIVAL DATES DAKAR FOR US GRAIN FOR MALI AS IT SEEMS TO THEM
UNLIKELY THAT 3,000 TONS WILL ARRIVE EXACTLY ON FIRST AND FIFTEENTH
OF EACH MONTH.

BLAKE

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ADP000

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

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USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR/ SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II

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6. A QUADRILATERAL SESSION ON 10 APRIL PRODUCED LITTLE FORWARD MOVEMENT, BUT IT DID APPEAR, BOTH DURING THE SESSION AND IN VARIOUS BILATERAL CONTACTS, THAT THE SOVIET REPS WERE SLOWLY UNVEILING THEIR PROPOSAL TO THEIR WARSAW PACT COUNTERPARTS. ON 13 APRIL, THE SOVIETS ASKED FOR A QUADRILATERAL MEETING AT WHICH THEY CONFIRMED THE ESSENTIALS OF THEIR 7 APRIL PROPOSAL. PRIOR TO THE QUADRILATERAL SESSION, SOVIET REP KVITSINSKIY APPROACHED THE US REP ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THE STATUS OF A QUADRILATERAL GROUP PRODUCT. THE US REP REFUSED, SAYING THAT THE WESTERN EMISSARIES WERE NOT AUTHORIZED TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE SOVIETS HAD PREPARED AN ENGLISH TEXT OF THEIR PROPOSAL IF IT WERE TO BE ACCEPTED BY THE GROUP, BUT WERE UNWILLING FORMALLY TO TABLE IT IF IT WAS TO BE CONSIDERED MERELY A SOVIET PROPOSAL. THIS LEFT THEM ABLE TO DISAVOW THEIR PROPOSAL IN CASE THE STORY SHOULD LEAK TO THE PRESS OR THE OUTCOME SHOULD BE ATTACKED IN THE WEST. THE PROPOSAL WAS NONETHELESS PRESENTED ORALLY, AND WAS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THE ONE OUTLINED ON 7 APRIL. THE
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SOVIETS DID NOT EVEN MENTION THE EARLIER HARD- LINE VERSION OF A HUNGARIAN STATEMENT (VIENNA 2889, PARA 9 B), ALTHOUGH THEY DID MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY REGARDED THE PROPOSAL AS A PACKAGE WHICH WAS NOT OPEN FOR FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATION. THE QUESTION OF HOW AND WHERE TO RECORD THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WAS LEFT OPEN AS WAS THE ALLIED DESIRE TO SPECIFY IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER THEY THE PROCEDURES WOULD BE CARRIED OVER TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIETS SAID THAT THEY WERE AUTHORIZED TO AGREE TO THE CARRY- OVER CONCEPT, BUT NOT TO INCORPORATE IT IN WRITING IN THE PAPER.

7. ALLIED REACTION. BEFORE THE SOVIET REPS CONFIRMED THEIR PRO-
ON THE 13 TH, THE AD HOC GROUP BEGAN CONSIDERATION OF ITS NEXT
STEPS ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD EMERGE IN ITS 7
APRIL FORM. ON 9 APRIL, THE US AND DUTCH REPS TOLD THE GROUP THAT
THEY THOUGHT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, IF APPROVED BY MOSCOW, WOULD BE
A FIRM POSITION NOT OPEN FOR FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE TEXTUAL CHANGES.
MOST OF THE GROUP WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS JUDGEMENT, ALTHOUGH
TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) WAS MORE HOPEFUL THAT THERE WAS STILL SOME
GIVE IN THE SOVIET POSITION. TULUMEN DURING THE WEEK URGED THE
EMISSARIES TO PUSH FOR ELIMINATION OR IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENLARGE-
MENT FORMULA-- WHICH THE EMISSARIES DID WITHOUT SUCCESS.

8. BY THE MIDDLE OF THE WEEK, INDIVIDUAL POSITIONS ON THE SOVIET
PROPOSAL BEGAN TO EMERGE MORE CLEARLY IN THE AD HOC GROUP. THE
VIEWS CAME INTO FOCUS IN DISCUSSION OF A DRAFT EMISSARIES REPORT
TO NATO TABLED BY THE US AND DUTCH REPS ON 11 APRIL. THE REPORT
RECORDED THE HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM, AND RECOMMENDED
THAT: THE SOVIET PROPOSAL BE ACCEPTED; THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES
BY AUTHORIZED TO NEGOTIATE FOR AS FAVORABLE A POSITION AS POSSI-
BLE FOR THE SUGGESTED EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS AND FOR SOVIET AGREE-
MENT THAT THIS ARRANGEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OVER TO THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS; AND THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE APPROPRIATE USE
OF THE OUTCOME TO INFORM THEIR PUBLIC OPINION.

9. THE REACTION IN THE GROUP TO THE REPORT AND ITS RECOMMENDA-
TIONS WAS GENERALLY FAVORABLE. THE FRG DEPREP (HOFMANN) INDICAT-
ED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT PROBABLY COULD ACCEPT THE OUTCOME ENVISION-
ED IN THE REPORT. THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) ALSO NOTED APPROVAL
OF THE REPORT. THE ITALIAN REP (PETRIGNANI) WAS EFFUSIVE IN HIS
SUPPORT FOR THE OUTCOME AND HIS PRAISE FOR THE EMISSARIES' DEFENSE
OF ITALIAN INTERESTS. THE UK REP (THOMSON), HOWEVER, REPORTED IN
A LENGTHY STATEMENT ON 12 APRIL HIS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE OUTCOME.

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SIGNIFICANTLY, THOMSON'S STATEMENT SPECIFIED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES
WOULD " RESERVE THEIR JUDGEMENT UNTIL THE EMISSARIES' REPORT HAS
BEEN SUBMITTED AND THEY HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR IN THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLI-
ANCE." THE TURKISH REP, ALMOST AS IF FOR THE RECORD, NOTED HIS
LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE OUTCOME. THE BELGIANS ALSO INDICATED
RESERVATIONS, ALTHOUGH THERE APPEARED TO BE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THE DEPREP (WILLOT) WHO IMPLIED GRAVE RESERVATIONS AND THE REP
(ADRIAENSSEN) WHO WAS MORE MODERATE IN HIS COMMENTS. IN SUM, BY
THE 13 TH ALL THE ALLIED REPS BUT THE BRITISH AND POSSIBLY THE BEL-
GIANS APPEARED PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE RECOMMENDATIONS
INCORPORATED
IN THE EMISSARIES' REPORT.

10. ASSESSMENT. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, NOW TO COME BEFORE THE NAC,

WHILE FAR FROM PERFECT WOULD ASSURE THE ALLIED RIGHT TO PURSUE APPROPRIATE ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE DURING NEGOTIATIONS. AS SEEN FROM VIENNA, THE PROPOSAL APPEARS TO BE THE BEST OFFER THAT THE WEST CAN NOW EXPECT FROM MOSCOW. WHETHER OR NOT THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION QUESTION IS NOW BROUGHT TO A FAIRLY EXPEDITIOUS CONCLUSION SEEMS TO DEPEND LARGELY ON THE UK. BRITISH RESISTANCE COULD PROMPT OTHER ALLIES TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT ONE OR ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE PACKAGE. NAC RECOMMENDATIONS DIFFERING SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THOSE EMBODIED IN THE EMISSARIES' REPORT COULD AT A MINIMUM WASTE CONSIDERABLE TIME AND POSSIBLY UNDO THE WHOLE SOVIET PACKAGE. TACTICALLY, THERE MAY BE ADVANTAGE TO EARLY FORTHRIGHT STATEMENTS IN NATO BY THOSE STATES WHO FAVOR THE REPORT, IN THAT THE UK, IF IT FEELS ISOLATED, MAY BE INSPIRED TO CHOOSE JOINING A CONSENSUS IT SEES EMERGING. HUMES

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